

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Africans begin first phase of non-violent campaign

As reported briefly in Peace News, January 14, a peaceful campaign by Africans has commenced to help break the colour bar in Northern Rhodesia. In Lusaka, the Africans visited cafes and requested service.

Now our own correspondent, Basil Delaine, sends the following report describing the latest developments:

**A CAMPAIGN** by Africans is in operation here to help break the colour bar. It was described to me by Harry Nkumbula, President General of the African National Congress, as "the first phase of a campaign of non-violence designed to improve race relations and to break the colour bar, particularly in cafes."

"The campaign will continue daily for three months," he said.

As I write on the third day of the campaign, the attitude of the shops affected is hardening against serving Africans. Today three restaurant proprietors out of four questioned said they would refuse from now to serve Africans.

There were two such requests for service by individual Africans in cafes. Both were asked to leave without being served.

Proprietors say the campaign produced two immediate results: 1. Noticeable drop in European patronage; 2. A change of attitude of their African waiters since visits of Africans.

### WELL-BEHAVED

Campaigning started Saturday without warning, the day the new Race Relations and Conciliation Ordinance was gazetted.

Harry Nkumbula told me that men in this operation were picked for "ability to be well behaved in any society."

The big point worrying cafe owners is the loss in European patronage.

One said he had lost a quarter of his usual weekend trade because of the Africans' visit. For that reason he was going to refuse to serve Africans in future.

"I cannot run a cafe on the Africans' few shillings," he told a reporter.

He said Europeans who approached the cafe left immediately they saw Africans sitting drinking tea.

One African asked to be served in this cafe but was told to leave as he was not respectfully dressed.

Lusaka police received a report that there was a disturbance at a beer and tea garden between Africans and Europeans but when the police arrived all was quiet.

**Footnote:** Africans are unofficially barred from all cafes, restaurants and hotels in Northern Rhodesia. Up to now, when a person with black or coloured skin has attempted to enter, proprietors have used "right of admission reserved."

A notable exception in the Ridgeway Hotel, a most expensive and luxurious hotel in the country, where there is no colour bar.

## London area pacifists to march on Sunday

On Sunday, at 7.30, Dr. Donald Soper will lead a march, supported by all the British pacifist organisations, urging that Britain disarm. See advertisement on page five for details.

## QUESTIONS ON KENYA

THE following questions on Kenya are to be asked of the British Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the present session of Parliament which opened on Tuesday, according to the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

**Mrs. Barbara Castle:** Is Colonial Secretary going to make statement on mutiny of detainees in Mageta Island prison camp in Kenya on Nov. 23.

**Mrs. Barbara Castle:** If he will take steps to establish independence of Police Force in Kenya on lines advocated by Col. Young in view of the improved situation.

**Fenner Brockway:** To ask on what grounds Mr. George Padmore's book, "Pan Africanism or Communism", has been banned from Kenya.

**John Dugdale:** To ask question on Section of Kenya Legislative Ordinance which disqualifies persons from voting. What proposals he will make to have this altered.

**Leslie Hale:** To ask Colonial Secretary to make statement on disturbance at Manyani detention camp in Kenya in Dec. 1954 or Jan. 1955 and to give details of casualties.

**Leslie Hale:** To ask for the number of Africans whose qualifications have been accepted for entry for voters roll in Kenya.

**Leslie Hale:** To ask Secretary of State for

the Colonies for number of detainees in prison or detention camps in Kenya who have never been brought to trial and the number of males and females in the camps and the number of qualified Rehabilitation Officers employed at each camp.

**Fenner Brockway:** To ask if in view of further evidence and charges made by Mr. P. Meldon regarding conditions in detention camps in Kenya, he will appoint a judicial commission of inquiry, etc.

**A. Wedgwood Benn:** Why Secretary of State authorised despatch of series of duplicated letters containing allegations of mass murders against D. Kimathi while his appeal against death sentence was pending and why he was not charged with these crimes in court.

**A. Wedgwood Benn:** What amendments made in Emergency Regulations in Kenya, how many persons under sentence of death would not be executed under new regulations.

**Reginald Sorensen:** How many juvenile delinquents are detained in Kenya. What provision and treatment of these delinquents and children left without parents.

# NATO: THERE IS NO MILITARY DEFENCE

## Violence no solution say 100 MPs

THREE events of significance to all persons believing in peace have been announced: over 100 Members of the British Parliament have signed a Motion expressing their conviction that the use of force in the modern world is futile; 55 MPs have signed a statement urging a major reduction in arms expenditures and commitments by the British Government; a NATO committee has virtually admitted that all its military preparations would be of little use in the event of thermonuclear war in preventing, for example, an initial estimated million casualties in Britain alone.

On Wednesday the News Chronicle reported: "It is impossible to defend Britain against rocket attack... there would be no chance of Britain surviving..."

## 18 U.S. PACIFISTS SENTENCED IN CIVIL DEFENCE CASE

From JIM PECK

EIGHTEEN American pacifists arrested in New York City Park for refusing to take shelter in last July's nation-wide civil defence drill were sentenced by Magistrate James Comerford to \$25 fines or five days in jail.

Thirteen of them chose to serve the jail term rather than pay the fine.

Five members of the Catholic Worker group—in accordance with their religious beliefs—and one anarchist pleaded guilty and were sentenced on January 15.

Eleven, including Quakers, members of the War Resisters League and persons with their own individual pacifist beliefs pleaded not guilty, were tried and were sentenced two days later. A pacifist who had acted apart from the group was sentenced on January 18.

At the trial of those pleading not guilty, all eleven defendants testified. Unlike Magistrate Hyman Bushell who tried the previous year's civil defence case, Magistrate Comerford permitted complete testimony regarding the motivation for the demonstration.

### Only real defence

In addition to describing their particular beliefs in detail, the witnesses were able to state the demonstration's principal objective: to show that the only real defence against nuclear weapons is to end war.

As at the trial of the previous year's case, the only witness for the state of New York was George Hearn, deputy chief of the auxiliary police, who ordered the arrests.

At the conclusion of the trial, Kenneth Greenawalt, attorney for the group, asked for dismissal on the grounds that the state emergency defence act, under which the arrests were made, violates the freedoms of religion, conscience, assembly, speech and Press provisions of both the state and federal constitutions.

In addition, he charged that the arrest of the pacifists was discriminatory in view of the fact that not only were the Press photographers, television men and reporters permitted to remain outside shelters but a large number of spectators were permitted to observe the scene unmolested. This was indicated by photographs presented in evidence.

This year's case will be appealed as was last year's. A decision on the appeal of last year's case is expected within a month. However, Greenawalt considers this year's case stronger, because Magistrate Comerford made no attempt to exclude the very important issue of motivation.

Some of the persons involved in this year's case were also involved in the previous one.

## Use of armed force a danger—100 M.P.'s

OVER 100 Labour Members of Parliament have signed a Motion, which states that "violence can never solve the problems of modern society" and that the use of armed force by any nation creates a danger to peace and freedom.

Six MPs, Victor Yates, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Charles Royle, George Craddock, Bernard Taylor and Ellis Smith have sponsored the Motion entitled Peaceful Solution of World Problems. The Motion was placed on the Order Paper on December 12, 1956.

However it was not considered during the last session of Parliament and will therefore be placed on the Order Paper again now that Parliament has re-assembled.

Colonel Lipton has agreed that his name shall be added to the signatories next session. There is still no indication that the Government will allow the Motion to be considered.

The Motion reads:

"That this House, believing that recent events have demonstrated that violence can never solve the problems of modern society, and that any nation attempting to impose its will upon any other nation by armed force can only endanger peace and freedom, welcomes the decision of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw British troops from Egypt; furthermore deplores the continued use of violence with its consequent bloodshed in Hungary; and, in addition to supporting the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement in this area, urges Her Majesty's Government to ask the Prime Minister of India to use his good offices to secure a withdrawal of Russian military forces from Hungary, and to use his influence to effect a reconciliation between Russia and the Western Powers, which would make possible a new approach to a peaceful solution of world problems."

The signatories to the Motion are:

F. Allam, S. Awerby, A. Benn, F. Brockway, T. Brown, C. Bence, A. Blenkinsop, Mrs. Joyce Butler, Mrs. Elizabeth Braddock, Mrs. B. Castle, Mrs. A. Cullen, V. Collins, G. Chetwynd, J. Cronin, J. Clunie, G. Craddock, G. Darling, H. Delargy, D. Donnelly, H. Davies, N. Dodds, R. Edwards, A. Evans, E. Fernyhough, J. Forman, D. Griffiths, D. Grenfell, A. Hunter, C. Howell, Hector Hughes, W. Hannan, Emrys Hughes, Leslie Hale, S. Hastings, Cledwyn Hughes, F. Hayman, P. Holman, Mrs. Lena Jeger, T. Jones, J. Jones, S. Irving, J. Johnson, I. Jones, C. Kenyon, H. King, F. Lee, D. Logan, A. Lewis, Sir F. Messer, R. Moss, W. Monslow, M. Macmillan, D. Mort, P. Morris, H. McGhee, F. Mulley, S. Mahon, R. Mellish, J. McInnes, H. Neal, A. Oram, W. Owen, G. Pargiter, A. Probert,

J. Parker, B. Parkin, P. Price, K. Robinson, W. Reid, J. Rankin, J. Reeves, E. Redhead, G. Roberts, H. Randall, C. Royle, E. Smith, J. Sparks, S. Silverman, J. Silverman, S. Swingle, P. Shurmer, Mrs. Harriet Slater, B. Stross, M. Stewart, B. Taylor, G. Thomas, J. Timmons, S. Viant, W. Warbey, D. Williams, G. Wigg, W. T. Williams.

W. Wheelton, H. White, W. R. Williams, L. Williams, T. Watkins, D. Weitzman, R. Woof, V. Yates, K. Zilliacus.

## "Fundamental changes needed"—55 M.P.'s

FIFTY-FIVE Labour Members of Parliament have signed a statement urging "fundamental change in Britain's military policy in light of the new economic situation."

Last Summer both of the British political parties were thinking in terms of a reduction in armaments and the abandonment of conscription. On both sides it was felt that modifications were required in the level of armaments expenditure because of growing difficulties in Britain's economic position.

The Labour Party went a good deal further than the Conservatives and a possible reduction of £400,000,000 per annum was spoken of, which would reduce the British expenditure on arms to £1,200,000,000 per annum.

In the event the Conservatives rejected the

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## COMMENT

IT is imperative for the future of the human race today that men shall make radical and rapid changes in their ways of thinking and living.

Never has the danger to the human race been so great as today. Never has the utter futility of violence and war been more obvious.

Violence and war cannot achieve even certain limited objectives, and when their use is today threatened on a world scale, the whole future of man is threatened.

It is of considerable significance, therefore, that over 100 Members of the British Parliament are today prepared, after observing recent events, to sign a Motion declaring that the use of force in the modern world is utterly futile. They hope that Parliament will pass this Motion in its present session.

The statement by the 55 MP's urging a considerable cut in arms expenditures and commitments is evidence of a growing realisation that even on economic grounds—apart from wider issues—it is no longer possible for a State like Britain to continue the inevitably heavy economic burden which modern armaments impose.

The frank NATO report on the expected immediate results of thermonuclear war ought sufficiently to demonstrate to anyone that even the military men responsible for preparing the West's "defence" programme know that military means cannot defend anyone.

Yet, apparently unable to adapt themselves to the radically new thinking required of them by the present situation, they continue to operate on the same old military assumptions which they themselves have demonstrated are futile.

## POTENCY OF PACIFISM

We believe that in this situation the action of over 100 MP's is especially important. It is a far cry from traditional Parliamentary action and in itself represents a tribute to the signers. They have shown the ability to view the modern world far more objectively than most heads of Governments, politicians and military men. They have acted as human beings.

This motion is also a demonstration of the influence which pacifist ideas are beginning to have in our world.

Governments often have a higher estimate of the potency of pacifism than have pacifists themselves. Governments are able to see the fundamental change in old if pacifist thinking were to be accepted and acted upon.

An example of their estimate is the concessions Governments are constantly making to pacifists when—viewed solely in terms of numbers—there would be no "need" for such concessions.

## LET US PRESS ON

If in this situation, the combination of the realities of the modern world and the persistent education, action and witness of a minority of pacifists can produce a situation in which over 100 persons in positions of power and influence are publicly prepared to act as moral individuals and declare the futility of force today, one can imagine what could happen if all convinced pacifists were to be active.

Even without the adherence of a single additional person to the ranks of the pacifists, the influence they could have would be powerful.

British readers are urged to write to the MP from their constituency. It is suggested that they either congratulate him on signing the Motion (if he has done so) or urge that he do so.

Readers in other parts of the world are urged to write to as many of the signers as possible, c/o House of Commons, London, W.1, congratulating them on their stand for peace.

Let us press on in the cause of peace while public opinion is being drawn to fundamental issues by such prominent men. Let us put forward a radical pacifist programme by logic, creative thought, dedication and action to implement the programme of peace which must follow a realisation of the futility of military force.

## DID NOT FLY BOMBER

From The Times, Jan. 18

FLYING OFFICER Dennis Raymond Kenyon, aged 24, a regular officer of No. 61 Squadron, RAF Station Upwood, attached to RAF Station Nicosia, is to be tried by a general court martial in Nicosia on January 28.

The charge against him reads: "... On November 1, 1956, when on active service, and when as captain and pilot of her Majesty's aircraft Canberra WH 915 he was under orders to take off from Nicosia and to fly to Egypt in order to carry out a warlike operation in the air, through default, failed to use his utmost exertions to carry such orders into effect by wilfully causing the undercarriage of the said aircraft to be partially retracted before take off when the said aircraft was stationary on the ground with undercarriage down, with intent to relieve him from carrying the said orders into effect."

There are two alternative charges, one of "wilfully damaging" the aircraft, and the other of "negligently damaging" it.





## "A GREAT COUNTRY"

"THIS is a great country and don't let's be ashamed to say so," said Mr. Macmillan in his broadcast following his appointment as Prime Minister.

The remark about being ashamed seemed to be a little superfluous and was indicative of a streak of insincerity of sentiment that ran through the broadcast.

When Mr. Macmillan seeks to equate the greatness that is now possible for Britain, with its present capacity to remain a first-class Power he is talking romantic nonsense that can only lead, should it be seriously acted upon, to Britain's rapid decline.

If Britain seeks to realise its greatness in a continuance of military power, its effort is doomed to failure.

The Prime Minister scoffed at the idea that Britain might be a second or third-class power; it is our hope that our country will not be content with such a position but will seek to realise its greatness in other ways.

It may be remarked in passing, however, that it is not impossible for citizens of "second" and "third-class" powers to retain a sense of personal dignity and to live under conditions of considerable well-being as the people of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland have demonstrated.

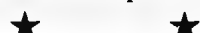


**NEVERTHELESS**, we may have aspirations toward greatness for our country if we can face the facts of today and resolutely turn our back on the traditional conceptions of power and seek to achieve our greatness in providing the new type of leadership that the world so greatly needs.

If we calculate in terms of military power the basic factor is population, and unless we resolutely shut our eyes to this aspect of the matter, it is impossible to think of Britain today as a leading power in these terms.

The size of the British population is 50 millions, beside that of the two giant Powers with 154 millions for the United States—with its enormously advanced productive system—and 200 millions for the USSR; with China and its 583 millions likely to be a further dominating force a few years from now.

In the past it was possible for Britain to add to its military manpower by drawing on the subservient peoples of its colonial empire. This is no longer possible, for Britain can no more draw with confidence on the manpower of those subject peoples that remain under its domination than can Russia on the manpower of its European satellites.



**THERE** are two courses which Britain may follow if it continues to seek to mark its status in the world in terms of military power, each equally self-stultifying.

It can try to continue to arm itself on the post-war model of monster armaments instituted for Britain by Mr. Attlee, but seeking to meet the growing economic stringency by paring a little here and nibbling a little there, a process upon which the present Government is already starting.

In that case it will become increasingly dependent on the help of the United States to make its "defence" effective in military terms and its foreign policy will become increasingly conditioned to lines of policy formulated in Washington. Alternatively it can act in terms of "greatness" as envisaged by those who think like the Suez Group in Parliament, who can never have heard the cautionary story of the frog.

In that case it will not consent to a scaling down of armaments, but will seek to compete in armed strength with the giant Powers, with their enormously greater industrial capacity. In such a case the present period of stringency through which we are passing will become permanent and will deepen and we shall be on the road to national decay.



**THERE** is one way—and one way only—in which Britain can now make a bid for greatness. This is to provide the challenging lead for which the world is waiting to help it to get off the route which, if it continues on it, will so clearly take it to general destruction.

Britain can unequivocally renounce the conception of military power—first-class, second-class or third-class—renounce the reliance on armed might, and, by abandoning the assumption that its greatness depends on arms, show the rest of the world what can be done in terms of good neighbourliness in international relationships and increased well-being at home by a people that can summon up the courage to abandon the drilling of men and the production of arms and devote all its strength to the things of peace.

## The forces against racial integration

LETTER FROM USA  
by A. J. Muste

ON January 10 in Montgomery, Alabama, scene of the impressive non-violent struggle against segregation on the buses, where so far as the law of the land is concerned segregation has been abolished, four Negro churches and the homes of two clergymen who are leaders in the anti-segregation movement, were bombed.

These are a few of the numerous "incidents" which now occur daily.

Fortunately the papers are also able to report that in twenty-one fair sized or large Southern cities integration in public transportation is taking place quietly.

There is also the curious and significant fact that the murderers of the young Negro, Emmett Till, who were acquitted by a jury of their neighbours are now practically "segregated" by the same neighbours as undesirable citizens.

### WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL

The prevailing situation, however, is that public school integration has been dramatically slowed down and White Citizens Council terror reigns over a large part of the South.

To cite a typical instance, a white grocer who had spoken up against the Till murder and consequently found life unbearable decided to move to another Mississippi town a good many miles away. However, the White Citizens Council in that town investigated his background; the hapless grocer was invited to attend a

Council meeting and told that "he wouldn't be happy there."

He decided to live with the ill he had rather than try to fly to others that might be even worse!

As a result of hundreds of instances of this kind applied to farmers, workers, teachers, small business people, lawyers, and preachers—White, I am speaking of now—the "nobody dares to speak up" situation has been created.

It is important to fix responsibility for this appalling situation. I want to mention three groups and one individual in this connection, not necessarily in order of importance. The responsibility of each in the situation is unique and decisive; therefore, comparison is pointless.

First, then, I name the Southern politicians. Since the South has the one-party system characteristic of undemocratic regimes, this means the politicians of the Democratic Party.

This includes the out and out racist ones like Senator Eastland, just reappointed as chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee of the US Senate.

It also includes most of the respectable, educated, "high class" leaders of the Democratic Party organisation in the South.

Whatever these people may believe in their hearts as individuals and Christians—God save the mark, but

with practically no exceptions these people are devoted church members—as politicians they are against integration.

Their one party system is built on a segregated social pattern. It would collapse if Negroes were actually full citizens and members of the community.

These people control the law enforcement agencies but are engaged in trying to enact laws which will thwart the supreme Court decision. But for their attitude the White Citizens Councils could not exist.

This is true even of those among them who do not directly engage in the dirty business of seeing to it that the Councils and their leading agitators are adequately financed.

### DEMOCRATIC LIBERALS

It should be noted that it was these Southern Democratic politicians who were appeased in last year's Presidential campaign by such Northern Democratic liberals as Adlai Stevenson himself, Senator Paul Douglas, Senator Hubert Humphrey and many others. Their "realism" miscarried but they are still in the Democratic Party and hindering the emergence of a truly realistic political alignment in this country.

Secondly, I mention the trade union movement, specifically the AFL-CIO. On paper, so far as the pronouncements of leaders such as George Meany, Walter Reuther and such are concerned, the labour movement is for integration.

Occasionally a really courageous

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**WESTERN** observers cannot be other than glad that Mr. Gomulka has obtained the result he appealed for at the polls. The relief that is felt no more indicates approval of Mr. Gomulka's political principles than the votes cast indicated the endorsement of these principles by the voters.

What is represented in the vote is an endorsement of Mr. Gomulka's assessment of the extent to which the Russian Government is prepared to permit the people of Poland to govern themselves.

With the Hungarian tragedy fresh in their minds the Poles were wise not to take any chances in exaggerating the real extent of their present freedom.

There is a sense in which the result of the election can be held to represent the will of the Polish people despite the limitations in the presentation of candidates and the very modified form of secrecy that obtained in the ballot.

It did not register their will as to how they would have their Government conducted, but was probably a rue indication of the extent of their readiness to take liberties in the face of the Russian overlordship.

### Non-violence

**ALTHOUGH** we were glad to publish last week the comments made by Mr. Mohammed Saadoun, of the National Algerian Movement because we are so much in sympathy with the objects of the Movement, we do not feel that we can pass without comment his observation that his Movement had resorted to armed struggle only after non-violent methods had proved unsuccessful.

We think that it is quite evident that if the Algerian people could have acted along the same lines as did the followers of Gandhi in India they could have been just as successful in achieving the right of self-government as were the Indian people.

It is true that Mr. Saadoun does not speak of "non-violent," but of "peaceful," methods and it is evident that the French domination could not have been removed by political methods such as demonstrations and manifestoes.

Mr. Saadoun speaks of strikes and passive resistance, however, and claims that only reluctantly after they had come to the conclusion that these methods were ineffectual did they resort to reliance on armed struggle.

What we think should be noticed here is that they have been prepared to persevere in a policy of armed struggle much further than they were prepared to persevere in a policy of non-violent non-co-operation.

It is conceivable that the French may react more brutally than the English in the face of resistance of this kind. We really cannot know this because non-violent resistance

has not been seriously used against them.

We do know that the Indians behind Gandhi met with a great deal of brutality and suffering at the hands of the British in the development of their campaign of non-violent non-co-operation.

They carried this policy a great deal further than the Algerians have.

## Poland Algeria Central Europe

been prepared to carry it. At no time did they decide that it must be ineffectual, and, in fact, it proved successful.

The Algerians have put a great deal more into their attempt to achieve their ends by violence than they were ready to put into an attempt to achieve them by non-violent resistance.

They have not in this case, nevertheless, reached the conclusion that the method of violence must be ineffectual.

The fact is that they have not been ready to assess the two methods objectively. They have had, and they have maintained, the average man's predisposition in favour of violence, irrespective of any real comparison of results.

### Neutral belt

**IT** has more than once been suggested that if free elections throughout Germany are an essential factor in reunification, agreement on such elections would only be possible on the understanding that a united Germany should become and remain neutral, independent of either power bloc, and that all foreign troops should be withdrawn.

There are some grounds for believing that from the Soviet angle the greatest stumbling block remains the fear that NATO forces would be pushed up to the Oder-Neisse line, and their chief reason for wishing to remain in East Germany can only be met by the assurance that if Soviet troops were withdrawn, the whole of Germany would not be integrated into the Western defence system.

If Germany accepted a position of neutrality it could become the centre of a larger neutral bloc which might include not only Austria (already neutralised as part of the agreement for the withdrawal of occupation forces), but also Switzerland, Scandinavia and even some of the Russian satellite States.

It may be assumed that so long as Russia fears a possible attack by the West through Germany she will not only be unwilling to surrender control of East Germany, but will also want to retain forces in Poland and Hungary, both to secure her lines of communication and also to push her defensive positions as far forward as possible.

### Possible

**THE** creation of an enlarged neutral belt would give her equivalent protection without the disadvantages of having to maintain control of East Germany, Poland and Hungary. Not only so, but the whole question of the "lost provinces" would assume different proportions and would be easier of solution if frontiers ceased

to have their present significance because Germany, Poland and Hungary were all included in a neutral belt.

The fact that conscription remains such a controversial issue in West Germany, that West Germany cannot now fulfil her obligations to NATO under the Bonn Agreement, that the cost of maintaining foreign troops in Germany is at issue, and that the whole policy of NATO is under revision, makes neutralisation opportune.

Another factor would be the forthcoming elections in West Germany next September and the possibility that the Social Democratic Party would welcome such a policy as an alternative to the present policy of Dr. Adenauer.

In addition, recent events in Poland and Hungary have emphasised the importance of finding the way to freedom for them.

Although the UN Disarmament Commission is again in session, there seems little prospect of their reaching agreement through continued discussions on existing proposals.

It requires some basically new plan to end the deadlock, and the conception of disarmament in Central Europe might well be the initial basis of an agreement which would not run contrary to the interests of either the West or the East.

### Military power

**WHILE** we shall be glad to see such an attempt to bring about a renewed "thaw" in the cold war, we are aware that such a programme of neutralisation would be based upon an essential acceptance of the main aspects of the present power struggle and would represent only a minor modification of that struggle.

There is inevitably an unstated acceptance in such a programme that the military power of other States is to continue to exist. Indeed, the programme (although requiring the "consent" of the States involved) is essentially one in which the most powerful military leviathans—Russia and the US—agree that it is to their own interest that other nations should be neutralised, and proceed to develop a plan for doing this.

The proposal for neutralisation, therefore, is one which can only be put into effect by these military Powers, and is therefore dependent upon their present military might.

### Real challenge

**THE** kind of neutralisation which can be effected by a Great Power agreement and which such a proposal envisages could also be abolished by another agreement or by either Power acting unilaterally.

The neutralised States which have "consented" to a plan of the Great Powers could very easily be brought again to "consent" to becoming armed once more. Military thinking and war itself have obtained such vast control over our world that a much more radical change is needed to bring a peaceful world than we have often thought in the past.

What is needed is for whole nations to reject war and war preparations, and the regimes and social conditions which lead to war. A nation which of its own volition has disarmed unilaterally cannot again be brought into the war programme at the whim of a Great Power.

Such courageous unilateral action for peace would become an example and challenge to the people of the world in a way which a neutralisation plan by the military Powers could never be.

## From the Editor's Notebook

Thanks, Alderman Lagden

**THE** Conservative MP for Hornchurch (Essex), Alderman Lagden, has issued to the Press, through his agent, a statement on a recent meeting he had with a deputation from the Hornchurch "Way to Peace" Group.

This is an unusual step for a Conservative MP, even for one who feels "that policies of years gone by could no longer be pursued by Britain."

To quote further from the statement:

"He felt certain safeguards were needed before we could make further concessions in Cyprus. Otherwise, however, there was a lot of common ground between his point of view and that of the Peace Group. He was particularly interested in the question of ending H-bomb tests and aiding backward areas..."

The deputation consisted of the Rev. Peter Thompson; Martin Dakin (Chairman of the Group, better known as one of the BBC's "Brains of Britain"); Ron Montague (Secretary); and Mr. G. Grey.

Ron Montague tells me that he is "hopeful that our MP will reflect the proposals we outlined in Parliament."

### Trade Union organiser

**RON** KEATING of Peace News staff has been appointed Assistant Organiser in the Metropolitan Area of the National Union of Public Employees.

NUPE draws its 200,000 members from all local government undertakings and health service employees.

Our regret at losing a most congenial member of the staff is tempered by the fact that his worth has been recognised by one of the large trade unions, and that we can now add another staunch friend to the many holding trade union posts.

### Worth looking at on T.V.

**ON** Tuesday, January 29, the BBC will televise a special edition of Edward R. Murrow's American programme "See it Now" starring Danny Kaye in his greatest role: Ambassador at Large for the UN International Children's Emergency Fund.



## THE PLIGHT OF AMERICAN SAMOA

THE economic standard of American Samoa is low; much of the native culture has been ruined. The US Congress has seemed to be less concerned with the difficulties of Samoa than it has been in amending legislation which might have lead to improved conditions there.

The American independent socialist weekly "Labor Action" in a recent issue reports these conditions in this US possession.

American Samoa is the name given to the eastern group of the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific, while the western group is now under the New Zealand flag.

The history of this American acquisition began when the Samoan harbour of Pago Pago became a US coaling station in 1878. In 1899 the islands were partitioned between the US and Germany and the administration of the US section was taken over by the US Navy.

Since then, no legislation for permanent government has been enacted; with the decrease of its naval importance, the administration of Samoa was taken over by the Interior Department in 1951.

Thus, American Samoans are not US citizens. Their status is that of "nationals" only. Though a native legislature does exist, the governor, who is also president of the island's bank and editor of the island's newspaper, holds the power.

Several years ago it was discovered that US minimum wage law applied to the overseas possessions. As Samoan wages are below the US minimum wage standards, Bills were presented in Congress designed to suspend the application of US minimum wage standards to Samoa.

### GOVERNOR - THE LAW

During the passage of these Bills, which are now law, information regarding living conditions in Samoa became public. The subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labour held a series of hearings on the Bills during last year.

At these hearings, Walter Mason, the AFL-CIO's legislative representative when asked whether the AFL-CIO had any unions in Samoa replied: "No... I don't know whether we would be allowed to go there and organise them. Samoa does not have an organic act. The governor is the law."

The economy of Samoa is very largely dependent upon a tuna fish cannery in Pago Pago. The plant is owned by Van Camp, whose main plants are in California. Those who work there are not covered by social security, unemployment compensation, nor by several other US labour laws.

The position of the Samoan workers was described by Vaiinupo Ala'ilima, a 29-year-old Samoan who also testified before the subcommittee.

At present those getting the sub-standard wage in Samoa "can hardly provide for food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families." Ala'ilima also made the point that the US minimum wage would "protect our people from being exploited for cheap labour."

Although he favoured a gradual industrialisation

★ ON PAGE FIVE

\*American equivalent of the British Trades Union Congress.



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REPORT FROM BELGIUM BY PAT PLATTEUW

## Belgian father fights conscription

Robert Garcet is a Belgian father, who has openly defied the attempts of the authorities to conscript his son Marc. As Marc is not yet of age M. Garcet has claimed sole legal responsibility and has forbidden his pacifist son to perform military service. Belgian war resister Pat Platteuw tells of the events that followed:

WHEN the Belgian authorities made their first attempt to conscript Marc into the army, M. Garcet wrote the following letter to the Belgian Minister of Defence: "I wish to inform you that no member of my household will take up arms. I founded a family with a definite aim. It is my ambition and my duty that my sons become men worthy of their name.

"I have taken care with their education and though it is a difficult task I must continue to do so. I am not their proprietor but their guide. The State is neither their proprietor nor their guide. A nation cannot treat its citizens like livestock. Man is not merchandise.

"We are brothers of all mankind, in spite of borders, policies or national interests. Are we then still liable to be forced to do as the State pleases or can we avail ourselves of human rights? I have developed in my sons from their earliest years, the mentality of free men. They have decided to be conscientious objects, when the time comes."

This letter was written on February 14 but it was not until May that Marc Garcet received formal instructions from the authorities.

### Service of God

On May 14 M. Garcet answered for his son:

"I have received a letter addressed to my son ordering him to go to Petit-Chateau barracks in Brussels on May 21. This order is pointless and I am returning it to you.

"I would remind you of my earlier letters, especially that of February 14, in which I said: 'I wish to inform you that no member of my household will take up arms.' We have not changed our minds..."

"I feel that military service is incompatible with the service of the Creator and the love of mankind. National defence or the defence of the West could be better achieved by promoting schools and work camps than by employing a strategy, useless for 5 years, loathsome for 10 years and 40 years out of date.

"You can play at soldiers in imitation of the past, you can also invent new weapons to save modern economy, you can even destroy the world in an attempt to save civilisation, but you can do it without us..."

"While he is not of age, I am responsible for my son's actions. I have forbidden him to do his military service. When he is no longer under my legal control, he will be ready to bear for himself our ideal of fraternity..."

"It is my right as a free man and as a father, to guide my son in the right way. We are ready to co-operate in any constructive and emancipatory work. By joining the Commonwealth of World Citizens we have engaged ourselves in promoting the well-being of our fellow men and we have not taken any part in violent action or infringing human rights.

"As citizens of Christ's Kingdom we have always to obey Christ's injunction: 'Love your neighbour as yourself.' We sincerely believe that world citizenship and God's service are the same thing."

M. Garcet finishes his letter by saying that he is ready to explain his position to anyone, in any place that the Minister cares to name.

The Garcet family and pacifist friends waited for some sign from the military authorities but he only answer was a pile of military propaganda. M. Garcet replied with a substantial quantity of pacifist literature returning the military propaganda at the same time.

### Son arrested

During the holiday, Marc took part in voluntary work camps and returned home later. Suddenly, on Sunday, October 14 Marc was arrested. While attending a fete in the village he police took him. Many people who saw the incident did not spare the police their criticism.

In vain, M. Garcet protested that he was solely responsible. Marc was handed over to military justice. But soon, the public prosecutor was forced to interrogate M. Garcet who again proclaimed his entire responsibility.

A few days later, on October 30, Marc was released! At the same time he was ordered to go to the local authority, but following his father's advice he returned home. The following day, the police came to arrest him but Marc had not yet arrived.

One can hardly imagine it possible that a person may be released from prison, free of any charge and then be pursued by the police within 12 hours.

The region of Eben-Emael, where the Garcet family live is infested with police, who strive by illegal methods to intimidate active pacifists. A few days after Marc's release, the whole village of Eben-Emael (20 kilometres from Liege) attended a meeting held by Her Day (War Resisters' International Council Member).

On Saturday, November 17, there was a demonstration held in Liege itself, a town of 200,000 inhabitants. A curious situation could be observed: Marc Garcet, wanted by the police, was walking in the procession proudly carrying a poster proclaiming the usual pacifist slogans. The procession was encircled by

police, who assisted the marchers in their progress through the town.

Everyone expected Marc to be arrested and the local reporters held their cameras ready. But to the surprise of all, the police did not deign to take advantage of the occasion. We would not be surprised now if they continue their game of hide and seek, coming only to take Marc when he is absent.

It is now up to the authorities to take the initiative, for M. Garcet will not move. He has won the first round.

Marc was released because military justice could produce no charge against him. M. Garcet might be indicted by a civil court but it is most unlikely as the military authorities would fear the outcome of such an action.

Another possibility is that the army will wait till Marc comes of age before taking further steps.

This revolt of the fathers (another father took the same position several months ago) arose at the very moment when religious authorities—extremely hesitant in Belgium as elsewhere regarding anything connected with national defence—stressed the importance of the parents' role in the education of the family.

These courageous parents remind us at the appropriate moment that it is no use taking great care with children's education if they are finally to be surrendered to the State with their education uncompleted.

## A second look at Capricorn LAND PROPOSALS PROTECT PRIVILEGED WHITES

Last week, in examining the Capricorn Society, Kirilo Japhet, a Tanganyikan African leader, showed how Capricorn's proposals would bar most Africans from democratic rights and perpetuate white domination under the guise of "equality." This instalment deals with Capricorn's land proposals, and next week he comments on Western Civilisation and human values. Mr. Japhet writes:

TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION'S current proposals are very conservative, simply being that the 1½ per cent of the immigrant communities should share "equally"—that is, 50 per cent—in legislative representation with the African 98½ per cent.

The latter should be permitted to learn voting by doing so under qualifications broad enough to give real citizenship training now.

Capricorn would bar nearly everyone from this privilege and this training for another generation or two.

It is easy to understand Capricorn's lack of appeal to any large number of the African people when it asks us to entrust our property, justice and security to an elite which discriminates so overwhelmingly in favour of European immigrants.

The Preface of the Capricorn Handbook concludes: "When all human beings in Africa can aspire to the full status of citizenship then we believe we will have achieved a living partnership between the races, and only then will Capricorn Africa fulfil its destiny."

It is our experience that the existence and rapid growth of TANU is a living demonstration that large numbers of our people do aspire right now to responsibility for the state which governs them, whether self-appointed guardians will admit their readiness or not.

Those who now come asking African support, saying "all men are created equal, but some are more equal than others" are living in the wrong century or the wrong country.

The contradiction between their idealistic Capricorn professions and their naive or cynical legislative proposals is bound to be self-defeating.

Human values ignored

In Tanganyika there is no entrenched and legally-hallowed colour bar. Capricorn may well appeal elsewhere for a "great act of faith" in overcoming the colour bar; but we are doing all right here without them coming to save us.

The land we depend upon for security as well as a daily living is a much more serious matter. Here, again, Capricorn CONTRACT PROVISIONS show an appalling lack of understanding of human and civilized values.

January 25, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## NOT STRANGE AT ALL



"I HOPE you do not find it too strange for a National Serviceman to wish to take your journal," writes a new reader in a famous British regiment stationed in Germany.

He sends us a cheque for 5s: 2s. 6d. a trial subscription for eight weeks and 2s. 6d. "to go towards the Peace News Fund." No. We don't think it strange. We are glad to be able to tell him that we have other readers in the Services; that Peace News goes to readers in US bases and Canadian Air Force camps as well.

Only a couple of days before we received a similar letter from a young American soldier about to be sent to Germany.

The quest for peace is no prerogative of the conscientious objector or the war resister, or of one race, nation or religion.

We want more and more servicemen to read Peace News and to join in our work of peace education.

One Peace News reader in a camp or mess room can do valuable work in sparking discussion on the many issues with which the paper deals week by week.

We hope that more and more of them will feel free to contribute to our columns. There's a place for everyone in Peace News who is seeking the way to a warless world.

But we do need financial help in keeping Peace News afloat. Hence this appeal each fortnight. If you are glad that the circle of Peace News readers is continually widening, will you make it the occasion for an extra contribution to our work this week?

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since January 3: £150 19s. 4d. Total since January 1, 1957: £206 2s. 2d. Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: from Ashford, 18s. 9d.; Peace Lover, Dundee, 5s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

To guide readers who wish to benefit Peace News when making their wills, the following form of legacy is suggested:

... and I give the sum of £ free of duty to Peace News Ltd. the principal place of business of which is at 3 Blackstock Road, Stoke Newington in the County of London.

What follows then takes on a very different meaning.

Under the CONTRACT all land would be made available gradually for purchase by all persons without regard to their race. But we ask immediately, who would be able to afford to "purchase"—for money—any sizeable amount of land, except, of course, the immigrant from overseas with accumulated wealth or credit backing?

Certainly not for a long time many Africans; for few have cash to spend for land.

Our customs of land use and transfer are based not on buying and selling and speculation manipulated by those with the most money. Our customs are based upon the actual primary needs and usage of each head of a family with his wife, children and other dependents.

Examine this "Land Reform Provision," as Capricorn calls it, closely. Let overseas people read the small print behind the lofty phrases of the Preamble.

It confesses in print that "... legislation to implement this principle may in certain instances involve the abrogation of treaties and of solemn pledges to various communities..."

After having removed the protection of Her Majesty's Government by obtaining "Dominion Status" (another one of Capricorn's proposals), and then being unwilling (according to their franchise provisions) to permit the majority to have any real proportion of representation at all, the Capricorn CONTRACT goes on to suggest that "the state" (their state) set aside the solemn promises and treaties of HM Government.

That they dare make such a proposal publicly is an amazing confession, one which Parliament ought to find highly interesting!

### "No right to our land"

Of course, Capricorn suggests that the State set up "Land Boards" to ease the problems arising from the abrogated treaties, but we have had enough of other people giving away our land.

God gave this land to us through our ancestors. No State has any right to take it from us without our free and equal consent.

We in Tanganyika know the CONTRACT is trying to win the favour of white settlers who covet the remaining good lands of our neighbours in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, but how can Capricorn expect to appeal to any but the most naive Africans with its "Land Reform Provisions?"

The CONTRACT would actually prevent the possibility of Africans buying lands held by other racial groups by its provision that the State "... may also take steps to ensure that transfers of particular lands are made only to experienced farmers." We have a pretty good idea of where the "particular lands" would turn out to lie and just whom they mean by "experienced farmers."

Again and again, the Capricorn Contract demonstrates the classic observation by the philosopher, Reinhold Niebuhr, that the intelligence of privileged groups is usually applied to inventing specious proofs for the theory that universal values spring from, and that general interests are served by, the special privileges which they hold."



## BOOKS

## GANDHI TO VINOBA

IAN LE MAISTRE reviews

Gandhi to Vinoba, by Lanza del Vasto, London, Rider, 21s.

LANZA DEL VASTO is an Italian of noble birth, a poet, musician, philosopher and artist who, greatly influenced by Gandhi during the nineteen-thirties, founded a Gandhian fraternity in France, the land of his adoption.

In 1954 he visited India for a second time to pay homage to Vinoba Bhavé and to obtain first-hand knowledge of the work of the Land Gift Movement.

This book is an account of that visit together with a selection from Vinoba's texts and sayings.

Acharya Vinoba Bhavé's name is rarely mentioned in existing works by Gandhian scholars in English.

In fact the only references I have been able to find are those by Walker and by Fischer to his part in the civil disobedience campaign of 1940.

It is therefore disappointing that neither in Hallam Tennyson's comparatively disciplined companion study SAINT ON THE MARCH (Gollancz 1955), nor in this volume (in spite of the author's so-called "Life of Vinoba"—a series of soliloquies designed to illustrate Vinoba's spiritual and mental pilgrimage with a fleeting glance at his early life) can one read a satisfactory introductory biography.

Indeed, the matter in this basically interesting book is almost defeated by the style in which it has been presented.

It is a hotch-potch of naïveté (on the issue of Pakistan, p. 78) and of perceptive exposition (on Gandhian basic education, p. 127); of spiritual arrogance (on Nehru: "He is not sufficiently saintly for my taste... he is not intelligent enough to be faithful") and of moving humility (the story of the thieves, beautifully told, who, discovering that their loot belonged to the Land Gift Mission, dressed the wounds of its original bearer and returned him and the property to Vinoba).

Above all, this is a refreshingly honest book. The author, who is a Catholic, and has had to suffer attacks from his co-religionists (it must not be forgotten that, in 1931, the Pope refused to see Gandhi), is also a true Gandhian.

He is not afraid to stick his neck out "wants

## To a freely fighting soldier

The laughing sun wept tears of rain,  
The ice-cold blue sky was stabbed with pain,  
And the lightning struck the bird-singing trees  
As the hat-whisking wind tripped up hives of bees,  
And the worm-turd grass spewed up the sods  
In the mad crunching fury of tribal gods.

The tearful sun soon smiled again,  
The thundering sky is earth's cool brain,  
And the lightning-struck branches no one sees  
As the hat-whisking wind becomes gentle breeze,  
And the peaceful grass green-warmly nods  
In the calm sipping coolness of tribal gods.

As nature changes  
Man's destiny ranges,  
Perhaps not to return  
To the peace that you spurn.

ROYSTON ELLIS.

(Our contributor is aged 15, and describes himself as "a product of the 1939-45 war.")

## THEATRE

## GOOD AT HEART

"THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK" at the Phoenix Theatre, is a moving play about the life of Dutch Jews sheltering above a warehouse during the Nazi occupation.

Beautifully characterised by Perlita Neilson, Anne grows spiritually as well as physically from 13 to 15.

An idealist who feels it isn't the fault of the youth of the world that it is in such a mess, she sees a God-given pattern in the universe in God's time.

When about to be taken to a concentration camp, she can say with a faith that puts us all to shame: "I still believe that people are really good at heart."

Comic relief is provided by Miriam Karlin and Max Bacon.

RONALD MALLONE.

Religious Films Limited (6 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1), has issued a new illustrated catalogue, copies of which are available at 2s. 6d. Group leaders and others who are responsible for meetings may be glad to know what films are available for hire.

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and all." In spite of the rambling, disjointed nature of his work, therefore, and in spite of his lack of humour and his inability to comprehend world affairs and politics, he does, in the end, succeed in communicating a vivid impression of the significance of Bhavé's work in a world whose watchword is violence and whose instrument of "peace" is the atomic device. (NEXT WEEK: Gandhi Memorial Number of Peace News.)

## PAMPHLETS

## Indian socialism

FROM the Indian Socialist Party, Hyderabad,\* have come the first six of a new series of tracts on current problems.

Some of them, such as the first two, on "States Reorganisation" and "Rising Prices," are mainly of local interest. Others deal with matters that have attracted a good deal of attention in countries outside India, and may be of interest to some of our readers.

"The Latest Struggle for Goa," by Vinayak Kulkarni, recounts the pressures exerted by the Indian Government and various groups of satyagrahis to ease the Portuguese rulers out of this territory and secure its incorporation in the Indian Union.

"Civil Disobedience in Bihar," by Loknath Joshi and Sachidanand Sinha, and "The Naga Problem," by Bipin Das, deal with peoples who are dissatisfied with their lot in the new India, one demanding reform, particularly of land distribution and taxation (and incidentally containing a number of criticisms of the Bhoodan Land Gift Scheme in Bihar), and the other, conscious that its language, culture and religion are different from those of India, demanding the establishment of a sovereign, independent Naga State.

Wider in scope is "Internationalism and Socialism in Asia," by Hector Abhayavardhan, and although it has no startlingly fresh ideas it is instructive to have old ones selected and rephrased by an Asian; they include the building of a Third Force of peace, democracy and socialism.

\*Socialist Party, 3-6-19 Hitmayatnagar, Hyderabad, India.

## SOUTH AFRICA

Four Words on South Africa, London Christian Action, 1s.

THIS pamphlet contains the Christian case against the apartheid policy of the South African Government as stated in four sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by Father Huddleston and Father Raynes, of the Community of the Resurrection, the Rev. Michael Scott, and Canon John Collins.

Although entitled "A Challenge to the Christian Conscience" it is intended to be a source of inspiration not only to Christians, but to every decent and liberal minded person who may read it, and is suitable for passing on to those who have no very close connection with organised religion.

Particularly, perhaps, it is addressed to any who may be influenced by the arguments in favour of apartheid put up by some of the South African Churches. The authors believe that it effectively disposes of the claims of racialists in Africa, in Britain and elsewhere, that their racial doctrines and practices are based on Christian insights and are aimed at preserving Christian civilisation. T.R.D.

## Iconoclast

The Ideas of an Iconoclast, by C. E. Cookson, 20 pp., Northam, The Western Press, 6d.

CAPTAIN C. E. COOKSON, CMG, is not a pacifist, but he is a man of wide sympathies, independent thought and considerable experience. It is his habit to write vigorous letters to the Press expounding his views with sound and heart-warming common sense.

In this pamphlet he has reprinted a selection dealing with current issues during the last couple of years. Accounting for his title he remarks that wisdom is often found in strange places, but he never expected to find it among the famous actresses of Hollywood. However, in Tallulah Bankhead's MEMOIRS he read:

"All our follies, our cruelties, the outrages perpetuated on humanity have a common root: Ignorance. We are prone to denounce things we do not understand. As we denounce the rebellious, the nonconformists, so we reward mediocrity as long as it mirrors herd standards. Yet revolution goes on all around us.

"If I have read my history aright, it is the heretics, the iconoclasts who have enriched our lives, and added to our knowledge, our progress and our happiness."

## Peace testimony

The Quaker Peace Testimony, An Anthology, 36 pp., London, Friends Peace Committee, 1s.

THIS little booklet was first published in 1938. It has since twice been revised. It contains a number of short statements and quotations, all of which are worth their place, and most of which will appeal to all Christian pacifists.

They are divided into three groups: official pronouncements of the Society of Friends, extracts from the writings of Friends in the 17th and 18th centuries and extracts from the 19th and 20th centuries.

## WAR TAXES—A PROBLEM FOR PACIFISTS

## Non-payment of taxes in USA

By ERNEST BROMLEY

NON-PAYMENT of income taxes (80 per cent of which, in the US, go for past, present and future war) has taken two forms in the United States: (1) Avoiding tax liability by earning less than \$600 a year for each dependent person, including oneself; (2) Creating tax liability by earning over \$600 for each dependent and refusing to pay what is owed.

Though these two forms are similar in the matter of non-payment, each has a slightly different emphasis.

The first (known as "Intentional low income") stresses the importance of removing oneself as much as possible from the capitalistic war economy; and the second (known as "tax refusal") stresses the importance of giving civil disobedience to the capitalistic war economy and of reaching the public with this protest.

In both groups, however, there are many individuals who do not fill out tax returns even though such returns are required by law on all incomes in excess of \$600.

## THREE REASONS

The movement of non-payment of taxes was started by Peacemakers [small radical pacifist group—Ed.] in 1948, as one of a number of new emphases in pacifism. (Many people, however, from coast to coast who have openly participated in active non-payment along both lines mentioned above do not consider themselves members of Peacemakers.)

A number of people felt that they should actively and openly withdraw from income tax payment because: (1) most of the Government's taxes go for war, (2) the chief source of these taxes is the revenue from the individual's daily labour, (3) every adult is individually identified with the Government as a potential income taxpayer and therefore has a unique opportunity to record himself.

In 1947, and for a few years following, people who felt that non-payment for war was important found they were called upon by other pacifists to explain and to justify such a course of action.

But the situation has changed and become somewhat reserved so that now pacifists who continue to pay income taxes are the ones more on the defensive. They tend to look upon their compliance with tax payment as a rather serious compromise.

## PROBLEMS

However, there are two factors which have seriously retarded non-payment: (1) The withholding\* of taxes from an individual's pay check, (2) The failure of peace organisations to allow employees to be tax refusers.

In reference to the former, though there are many ways for a person to earn a living without working where an employer is legally required to pay his taxes for him, pacifists for the most part do keep on working in their jobs under withholding because their work is in other ways satisfying, allows for the standard of living they are used to, etc.

In reference to the second, though it is paradoxical it is nevertheless true that if an employee of one of the peace organisations wants to stop paying for war he has to stop working for the peace organisation.

Every peace organisation unrelentingly insists upon paying the income taxes of its employees in advance of pay day, and this has been going on for twelve years (since withholding was invoked in 1943).

Employees who have had a scruple against paying for war in this manner have necessarily had to conclude that in order to discontinue supporting war they would have to withdraw from the staff of the peace organisation. Some have so withdrawn.

The exception to this policy is the Peacemaker movement which has withheld nothing from the few people it has at times employed, and the Catholic Worker movement which also stands for non-payment of income taxes and which also has no regular paid employees.

## NOT NEW

On the withholding matter, the 1956 Spring Conference of Peacemakers was more definitive than before. The Peacemakers position on non-payment of income taxes was extended to apply equally to the withholding system of collecting income taxes at source. This means that individuals taking this position are asked not to work in jobs as employees where taxes are withheld and paid into the US Treasury by an employer, and, if employers, not to withhold taxes and pay them into the US Treasury from any who may work for them.

Though non-payment of taxes for war seems to some people to be a new position in pacifism, it really is not. Quakers and Mennonites of the French and Indian War days, the Revolutionary War days, and the Civil War days practised it, and in some cases it was the test of one's sincerity on the question of pacifism.

But whatever its history may be, non-payment of war taxes is potent for our times, for wherever it is used, by one person or by many people, it is at once a stoppage of war supplies at the same time that it is a definite symbol of one's commitment to peace.

\*The system of "withholding" is the American counterpart of British PAYE—pay as you earn.

†If the employee is a clergyman, and hence exempt from the withholding procedure, this does not apply.—Ed.

## 'MY REFUSAL IS LAWFUL'

By Fyke Farmer

BEFORE the Korean war was started I saw that the war planning and war preparations by the Truman Administration had reached the stage where war was going to be initiated somewhere. My income tax on my 1949 income was due in 1950. I filed the return showing the amount of the tax that might be assessed but refused to pay the tax.

My refusal was on the ground that the Nuremberg Law was a part of the law of the land in the United States and that I would be guilty as an accomplice if I contributed money to help finance the war activities of the Government.

By the Nuremberg Law the crimes against peace are committed by individuals and not States and impersonal entities.

## Upholding law

I recalled that when the Nuremberg Judgment was rendered, statesmen said that it was law for the whole world, the victors as well as the vanquished. I proposed to obey that law.

I am now upholding that law in the United States and beseech the support and aid of peace lovers in all countries.

If there were no other evidence that the United States war planning, preparing, initiating and waging—these being the exact words of the Nuremberg Charter—has been and is for aggression, Dulles brink-of-war statement and his statement in the South Korean Assembly, a couple of days before the Korean war, formally assuring them of US support in a war with North Korea, would be enough.

He has certainly revealed steps taken by him in execution of the policy of using force and threats of force in violation of Article 2, Section 4 of the United Nations Charter. Besides, the Kellogg-Briand Pact is still in effect.

## No right or power

I am a law-abiding citizen. My Government has no right or power to force me to become a war criminal. The Nuremberg Law says that those guilty of complicity in war activities within the prohibition of that law render themselves guilty of the crime along with the heads of States and high policy makers.

In refusing to pay taxes to support the war activities of the Government of the United States, I am not in disobedience to the law. I am obeying the law.

I am claiming my immunity from the coercion of the President and the Congress of the United States that would render me a criminal if I do not take the moral choice of refusing to support war in any way.

The impasse over disarmament that has been reached can be by-passed. All that needs to be done is to set up international courts to interpret, apply and enforce the Nuremberg Law. Then security under law will enable the United States and Soviet war machines to be dismantled in absolute safety for all.

All other proposals having proved unacceptable, to one side or the other, why do we not try this before some miscalculation carries us "over the brink"? I plead with all peace lovers to help me show this light and hope that it is capable of ending the suicidal stampede towards the abyss.

Every PN reader needs a HOUSMANS

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# Letters to the Editor

## Co-operation with Communists

LAST week Peace News published an article by A. J. Muste suggesting that there were genuine possibilities for united action between pacifist peace organisations and individuals and groups associated with the World Council of Peace and containing Communists in leading positions.

This we welcomed in the certainty that the removal of barriers to co-operation can only improve all our efforts to secure a lasting peace.

This week, your column "In Perspective" contains a paragraph warning people not to take part in the Parliamentary Lobby which has been organised by the Daily Worker to take place on Tuesday, January 22.

The writer demands an end to co-operation with anyone who does not unreservedly condemn Soviet action in Hungary. Is this the way to co-operate, or to win peace?

There is surely room to consider that the organisation of spying and sabotage by Britain, as well as the USA and others must have played some part in the terrible events of last October and November.

Must Peace News demand an all-or-none purity of attitude toward this complex succession of events as the passport to permission to act for peace? Such bigoted anti-Communism will help neither the cause of peace nor the future of our country.

It makes a mockery of every plea for tolerance, justice or democracy.

We Communists may have been conceited, intolerant, and one-sided in our attitude to the Soviet Union and the New Democracies. We are prepared to admit our mistakes.

We are prepared to put our cards on the table and discuss our attitude. And we are prepared to work with anyone for the principle of settling international disputes by negotiation, provided that it is a two-sided discussion and agreement.

We claim our right to discuss our case because we believe we have a contribution to make. Is your journal prepared to allow discussion, or is your pacifism conditional?

The danger of war remains with us and does not allow the luxury of exclusiveness in the movement of the people that can end it.

RUSCOE CLARKE, MBE, FRCS.

134 Salisbury Rd.,  
Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

We did not urge "an end to co-operation with anyone who does not unreservedly condemn Soviet action in Hungary." We urged that non-Communists should not permit themselves to be used on January 22 in an endeavour to encourage forgetfulness of the fact that Communist Party principles lead to the evils of Stalinism, of which the latest manifestation has been the terrible Russian action in Hungary.—ED.

## Unarmed force

THE United Nations have just sent an international force to Suez. What sort of force is this? Forty-five soldiers from here, 80 from there, a few thousand at the maximum. If attacked, they can only be crushed.

Nobody, however, considers the sending of such a "force" as useless or Utopian. On the contrary, everybody approves this means to end a war. Nobody considers this peculiar army as a victim for other armies. Indeed, everybody knows that the UN force is strong, although very small and hastily organised. Why?

The real power of such a force lies in the moral backing of world public opinion. It is certain that this moral power would be greatly increased by recognising itself as such.

That moral power is reduced by the troops being armed. Without arms, a UN force would be more easily accepted in delicate situations as in Hungary, or Algeria.

An international unarmed force has to be

created and used if we want to avoid World War III and the crumbling of UN when we feel it more necessary than ever.

NOEL PLATTEUW.

16 rue de Montignies,  
Charleroi, Belgium.

## Open Skies

YOUR comment that the "Open Skies" proposal can also be mutual inspection for war is only too true. It is precisely for this reason that the Russians have always insisted that inspection must accompany disarmament, but the USA, unfortunately, even in the latest proposals, still obviously is putting inspection before disarmament.

But inspection, without disarmament, is, in fact, simply espionage by agreement!

As regards the Russians' qualified acceptance of the "Open Skies" policy, they have not said 500 miles each side of a line "through Germany," but each side of the line between the NATO and Warsaw Pact Powers. Moreover, the "500" is itself subject to further negotiation.

It should also be noted that it was the USSR first, and the USA only now, that has proposed permanent inspection at all road, rail, river and air transport centres, and that the USSR has also sponsored a scheme for complete inspection of the production of nuclear materials from source to final use, as part of a plan to outlaw nuclear weapons.

The essential differences between the Soviet and American approaches at this date appear to be:

(a) American insistence on inspection before disarmament and Soviet insistence on simultaneous steps introducing inspection and disarmament;

(b) American insistence that international control of atomic energy take the form of ownership (I am not absolutely clear whether the Americans have now shifted from this position or not and their latest proposals do not make this clear) and Soviet insistence on international inspection but national ownership.

As regards "disarmament by example," your suggestion here coincides with a recent suggestion by Bulganin, following the two forces cuts, amounting together to 1,840,000 men, carried out by the Soviet Government since August, 1955.

PAT SLOAN,  
General Secretary.

British Soviet Friendship Society,  
36 Spencer St.,  
London, E.C.1.

## Schoolboys Exhibition

I WOULD like to say how very useful I thought the National Peace Council's stand was at the recent Schoolboys Exhibition. I only helped for a short time on one day, but I found the work quite exciting.

Boys from all age groups and classes stopped to operate the electric quiz which had questions such as "Who is Albert Schweitzer—a missionary or a jazz trumpeter?" Almost all who stopped took away some peace literature, which we hope would be read later on. Peace News was on sale.

Unexpected questions came from unexpected people. One man, with two children, stopped to enquire whether there was a workcamp in Iceland as he was going there shortly for a holiday.

He said it would probably only be shifting lava rock in any case. An elderly lady asked for information about walking holidays abroad—for her daughter.

We had to be prepared to answer all sorts of questions, from the work of the Woodcraft Folk, to that of the National Adult School Union, which has a junior adult section. Great interest was taken in the "Art for World Friendship Scheme" sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. (Mrs.) FLORENCE E. PETTIT.

50 Mackie Ave.,  
Hassocks, Sussex.

# Forces against integration

## FROM PAGE TWO

action takes place such as that of the American Federation of Teachers which last summer ordered its Southern local branches to integrate or be expelled, and which has taken in its stride the recent defection of its big Atlanta (white) branch.

Now the same forces that are behind the White Citizens Councils are behind the anti-union drive in the South. Their campaign is based on the warning—there is all kinds of literature as well as talk to bear out this statement—that Walter Ruether is a "nigger-lover" and the country's leading Communist.

If, therefore, the Southern worker joins a union he declares himself a "nigger-lover" and a Communist!

## UNION LEADERS

It is a fact that even a considerable number of present union members are intimidated into joining the White Citizens' Council or actually believe such charges as those just mentioned.

The unions certainly face a difficult situation, but there was only one way in which it could have been successfully met.

That would have been by a powerful organisation campaign, inaugurated by all the big union leaders going South, placing themselves firmly at the side of Negro leaders in Montgomery and elsewhere, and announcing that the unions were indeed "nigger-lovers," were building a movement for the benefit of all workers and especially the most exploited, whether white or Negro.

This has not been done, partly because of the timidity, the bureaucratic lack of imagination of union leaders, their "practical" ties with Democratic Party politicians, and partly because not a few unions themselves still practice racial discrimination.

Thirdly, I mention the membership and the clergy of the white churches. There are a few

exceptions among the latter. One of the homes bombed in Montgomery the other night was that of Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, a Negro and Martin Luther King's closest associate in the leadership of the non-violent struggle.

The other was a white Lutheran clergyman serving a Negro church, Rev. Robert Graetz.

For the most part, white preachers are not riding the buses with their Negro brothers and sisters. For the most part they are silent.

They say to God, as Jeremiah did: "Behold, I cannot speak: for I am a child."

Would that they also heard and responded as did Jeremiah to what God says to his ministers in such an hour: "Whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak... See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant... They shall fight against thee; but they shall not prevail against thee, for I am with thee."

## PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Finally, I name President Eisenhower. At a meeting just held in Atlanta the Negro leaders appealed to him to come and make a major address in a Southern city "to point out to the people of the South the moral nature of the problem." No other individual possesses the moral authority which Eisenhower wields.

He makes a point of going to church on Sunday, of praying with his associates in the Government. As this is written he is going West for three days to observe the drought-stricken areas at first hand.

Let him go to Montgomery and speak in that region where, so far as "the master race" is concerned there is currently a "famine of the word of the Lord."

## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday Jan. 27, 1957

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.  
(Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by ANTONY BATES

"PACIFISM, SYMBOLISM AND CHRIST"

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Sunday, January 27 7.30 p.m.

ASSEMBLE OUTSIDE

KINGSWAY HALL, LONDON W.C.2.

OPEN AIR MEETING

MANETTE STREET (Charing Cross Road) 8.30 pm

STANDING JOINT PACIFIST COMMITTEE

# DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

## Saturday, January 26

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mig. for business and discussion. H. G. Ede, "Suez." Religion Commission, Peace Pledge Union.

## Sunday, January 27

ABERDEEN: 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 98 Crown St. Group discussion. PPU and FOR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m.; Westminster Friends Mtg. Ho., 52 St. Martin's Lane. Conf. for C.O.s. Young men and women of 16 and over invited. Gerald Littleboy. Tea provided. Society of Friends.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Anthony Bates, "Pacifism, Symbolism and Christ." Religion Commission, Peace Pledge Union.

## every week

## SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11

## SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

## MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

## TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bldg. Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

## WEDNESDAYS

KIDDEROKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc.

## THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m.; Kingsway Hall. March led by Donald Soper. "War, We Say No." Open air mtg. Manette St., off Charing Cross Rd., 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Donald Soper, Sybil Morrison. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Tuesday, January 29

EAST SHEEN: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. Arlo Tatum (W.R.I.), "Civil Disobedience to Conscription." Friends Invited. Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Monthly mtg. London Area PPU.

Thursday, January 31

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group discussion. "War, We Say No." Open air mtg. Manette St., off Charing Cross Rd., 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Donald Soper, Sybil Morrison. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Sunday, February 3

BLACKHEATH: 6.30 p.m.; Winchester Ho. (next to Blackheath (Stn.). Ronald Mallone, BA, "Jesus and the World Today: Hungary and the Middle East." Fellowship Party.

Wednesday, February 6

KIDDEROKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., S.E.3. Play: "Jane's Legacy." Fellowship Party.

Thursday, February 7

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Edith Adlam, "Recent Changes in Uzbekistan." Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Ron Keating, "Pacifism and Socialism." PYAG.

Friday, February 8

BOWES PARK: 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Ch., Bowes Rd., N.13. Mrs. Joan Curtis, "My Recent Visit to Berlin: a Christian Looks at Conditions There." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

UPMINSTER: 8 p.m.; St. Mary's Lane School (near The Bell). Martin Dakin (BBC Brain of Britain for 1954), "Hungry Men." Hornchurch "Way to Peace" Group.

Thursday, February 14

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. A. H. Radcliffe, "Is Religion the Answer?" Peace Pledge Union.

WOOLWICH: 8 p.m.; Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Rd., Eltham Well Hall. Public mtg. for the adoption of Fellowship Party prospective Parliamentary candidate for Woolwich West. Ronald Malone, BA, Stanley Bishop, Leonard Tomkinson. Fellowship Party.

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd notices. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy Monday morning before publication.

PLEASE NOTE: Advertisements for the issue of December 28 must be received not later than Friday, December 21.

While the policy of Peace News is not a strict one of concern or individual for advertising in these columns, it must be noted we do not necessarily share the views or opinions of all our advertisers.

## MEETINGS

CONFERENCE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS. A Conference for young men of 16 and over who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors will be held on Sunday, Jan. 27, 1957, at Westminster Friends' Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2 at 2.0 p.m. The speaker will be Gerald Littleboy (former Headmaster of Friends' School, Saffron Walden). Tea will be provided. Young women also welcome.

## ACCOMMODATION

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## LITERATURE

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## PERSONAL

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VACANCY IN PEACE NEWS OFFICE. Shorthand typist needed (full time) to assist in the business, circulation and advertisement activities of the paper. Specialist experience not essential, but adaptability and initiative very useful. Please write to the Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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